

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

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USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 10463

BONN FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

CINCEUR, CINCLANT, CINPAC, CONCUSAREUR, CINCUSNAVEUR, SHAPE
FOR POLADS

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, UR, US

SUBJ: SOVIET PUBLICATION ATTACKS SECRETARY SCHLESINGER

1. SUMMARY: A SOVIET MASS CIRCULATION PUBLICATION IN A DISCUSSION
OF NUCLEAR STRATEGIC THEORY HAS RENEWED ATTACKS ON SECRETARY
SCHLESINGER. WE CONCLUDE THAT THE PLACEMENT OF THIS
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ARTICLE IN SUCH AN UNLIKELY VEHICLE WAS UNDERTAKEN TO PROVIDE

"BALANCE" TO THE EXTENSIVE SOVIET MEDIA COVERAGE OF APOLLO-SOYUZ WHICH HAS BEEN ALMOST UNIFORMLY FAVORABLE TO THE U.S. THOUGH THE PUBLICATION IN WHICH THE ATTACK APPEARED IS NOT GENERALLY CONSIDERED AN IMPORTANT VOICE ON SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, THE AUTHORITATIVENESS OF THE ARTICLE ITSELF IS ESTABLISHED BY THE SIGNATURE OF GEORGIY ARBATOV -- ONE OF BREZHNEV'S TOP ADVISORS ON U.S. AFFAIRS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE SOVIET MEDIA HAS AGAIN TAKEN UP THE CUDGEL AGAINST SECRETARY SCHLESINGER. THE LATEST ISSUE OF NOVOYE VREMYA, THE WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE, CARRIES LENGTHY ARTICLE ACCUSING SCHLESINGER OF ATTEMPTING, IN VIOLATION OF EXISTING AGREEMENTS ON RIGHT OF EACH SIDE TO EQUAL SECURITY, TO INSURE AMERICAN STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY OVER THE SOVIET UNION. ALSO CRITICIZED ARE HIS ALLEGED USE OF NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS AS BARGAINING CHIPS TO GAIN ADVANTAGE OVER THE SOVIETS IN NEGOTIATIONS AND HIS ALLEGED ADVOCACY OF "LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR." THE ARTICLE OF COURSE ALSO ATTACKS SCHLESINGER FOR HIS STATEMENT THAT UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES THE U.S. COULD MAKE FIRST USE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS. THE ARTICLE, SIGNED BY G. ARBATOV AND HIS SON A. ARBATOV (THOUGH PROBABLY WRITTEN BY ARBATOV'S USA INSTITUTE STRATEGIC EXPERTS, INCLUDING M.A. MIL'SHTEYN), CONTENTS THAT BEHIND ALL OF SCHLESINGER'S ACTIONS STANDS ONE MOTIVE -- TO MAKE NUCLEAR WEAPONS ONCE AGAIN A USEABLE WEAPON IN THE U.S.'S STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION.

3. THE AUTHORS WARN THAT "THE ACTIVITIES OF (SCHLESINGER) AND THE FORCES STANDING BEHIND HIM" ARE AIMED AGAINST THE PROCESSES OF DETENTE. THE THEORIES AND DOCTRINES OF SCHLESINGER, THEY CONTEND, GIVE GROUNDS TO A CONTINUATION OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND CAN POSSIBLY EVEN INTENSIFY IT. THEY WARN THAT THESE THEORIES CAN DISTURB THE NUCLEAR BALANCE OR CAN CREATE THE ILLUSION THAT THE NUCLEAR BALANCE OF FORCES HAS BEEN DISTURBED -- AN OUTCOME EQUALLY AS DANGEROUS.

4. THE AUTHORS CONCLUDE THAT "A MOST IMPORTANT MOMENT HAS ARRIVED IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. THE QUESTION IS NOW BEING DECIDED -- DO THESE RELATIONS GO FURTHER TOWARD A DEEPENING OF THE RELAXATION OF TENSIONS, STRENGTHENING

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OF PEACE AND SECURITY, LIMITATION OF ARMS AND DISARMAMENT, OR WILL THE ADVOCATES OF THE COLD WAR SUCCEED IN TURNING BACK THE COURSE OF EVENTS?"

5. IN FINAL PARAGRAPH OF ARTICLE, AUTHORIS INSERT PRAISE OF BREZHNEV'S CALL TO BAN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SYSTEMS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, AT LEAST IMPLICITLY TYING THIS CALL TO THE NEW SYSTEMS WHICH THEY CONTEND THE U.S. IS DEVELOPING TO

IMPLEMENT THE SCHLESINGER DOCTRINE AND TO USE AS BARGAINING CHIPS. THIS SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT AT LEAST TO THE AUTHORS OF THIS ARTICLE BREZHNEV'S CALL IS LESS DIRECTED AGAINST EXOTIC SYSTEMS OF THE FUTURE THAN AGAINST FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND PERFECTION OF EXISTING SYSTEMS.

6. IN GENERAL, THE CRITICISM OF SECRETARY SCHLESINGER CONTAINED IN THE ARTICLE FOLLOWS THE LINES WHICH HAVE BECOME CUSTOMARY IN SUCH ATTACKS. OF SOME INTEREST, HOWEVER, ARE THREE ARGUMENTS PRESENTED AS SHOWING THE UNWORKABILITY OF THE SCHLESINGER DOCTRINE. THE AUTHORS CONTEND THAT, EVEN IF ONE WERE TO ACCEPT THE SCHLESINGER PERCEPTION OF THE WORLD WHICH THEY DO NOT, THEN: (1) IF A THREAT OF TOTAL ESCALATION DOES NOT RESTRAIN ONE NATION FROM UNDERTAKING A "LIMITED ATTACK", THEN CERTAINLY THE THREAT OF A SELECTIVE RESPONSE WILL NOT DO SO; (2) IF ONE ASSUMES THAT THE "LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR" HAS ALREADY BEGUN, ONE CANNOT DEMAND FROM THE OTHER SIDE THAT IT HOLD BACK ITS MISSILES IN THEIR SILOS FOR AN ANSWERING STRIKE, FOR THESE MISSILES, ACCORDING TO SCHLESINGER, ARE THE MAIN TARGET FOR THE "LIMITED (ACUTALLY DISARMING) STRIKE"; (3) MOST IMPORTANT, UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF NUCLEAR WAR ONE CANNOT EXPECT THAT THE TWO SIDES WILL HOLD TO ANY "RULES OF THE GAME", WHICH, THOUGH PERHAPS SUITABLE FOR A GENTLEMENS' DUEL, ARE OUT OF PLACE IN A NUCLEAR CATAclysm.

7. WE ARE SOMEWHAT SURPRISED BY THE APPEARANCE OF THIS RELATIVELY EXOTIC DISCUSSION OF NUCLEAR STRATEGY IN A MASS CIRCULATION WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE. WE CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT IT HAS BEEN SO PLACED TO PROVIDE "BALANCE" TO THE REAMS OF MATERIAL IN SOVIET MEDIA DURING THE PAST WEEK ON APOLLO-SOYUZ -- VIRTUALLY ALL OF WHICH IS AT LEAST BY IMPLICATION FAVORABLE TO THE U.S. THIS ARTICLE REMINDS

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THE SOVIET MAN IN THE STREET THAT THE FORCES OF EVIL, IF NOT RUNNING RAMPANT IN THE U.S., STILL HOLD POSITIONS OF POWER THERE; WHILE COOPERATION IN SPACE IS FINE AND GOOD, VIGILANCE AGAINST "CERTAIN FORCES" IN THE U.S. IS STILL A VITAL NECESSITY.

8. WHILE NOVOYE VREMYA ITSELF IS NOT GENERALLY CONSIDERED AN IMPORTANT SPOKESMAN FOR SOVIET POLICY, THE FACT THAT ARBATOV SIGNED IT GIVES THE ARTICLE INCREASED AUTHORITY. IT DOES INDICATE GENUINE SOVIET ANNOYANCE AT SCHLESINGER'S RECENT COMMENTS AND WE WOULD NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT BREZHNEV HIMSELF MAY WISH TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE AT HELSINKI.

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